

A GRAECO-ROMAN PORTRAIT  
OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.  
AND THE GRAECO-ASIATIC TRADITION  
IN IMPERIAL PORTRAITURE  
FROM GALLIENUS TO DIOCLETIAN

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## DESCRIPTION AND STYLE OF THE HEAD\*

A marble head of a bearded man, recently acquired by the Department of Classical Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is an important Roman portrait of the period A.D. 265 to 285 (figs. 1-6).<sup>1</sup> The head comes ultimately from an area in the metropolis of ancient Rome, if we imagine the city extending from Saxa Rubra to the port and cemetery complexes near the mouth of the Tiber. The discoloration of the face was caused by a thick, pebbly deposit which was mostly removed before the head came to Boston. The areas not covered by hair and beard were finished with the high polish peculiar to many portraits and sarcophagus reliefs in the second and third centuries A.D. The hair was treated in a radically different fashion, as we shall see, setting the face and neck off in a mounting picture of circumscribed contrasts.

The man is of early middle age, say between thirty and forty. The characteristic features of the portrait are the large eyes, with pupils drilled in half-moons and irises indicated by lines running nearly a full circle from the upper lids; eyebrows above the deeply-set sockets, the hair being indicated by incisions; and the varying treatment of the hair of moustache and chin, of the side of the face and the neck, and of the forehead and back of the head down to the neck. The moustache and beard at the chin have been represented by incised lines to divide the mass of thin, silky hair, but the curls of the beard at the sides and those growing below the chin have been delineated with the straight or running drill, some of the struts between the channels having been left to heighten the effect of light and dark among the tight masses of curls. Over the forehead the same technique of drilled hair is used on a bolder, broader scale; the curls are tighter near the line of the flesh, but from the forehead to the back of the crown and the neck the channels between the strands lengthen. At the back of the head the drillwork is discontinued. The neck is finished with a claw chisel on the underside and has a cutoff section at the left side, indicating that the head could be set in a draped or a heroic nude statue with a paludamentum or general's cloak on the left shoulder. As we shall see, the nature of the sitter makes it unlikely the head was made for a statue in military costume.

So much for the details of appearance. It is not these details but the over-all effect of the portrait from several angles that gives it the quality of an important

\* I have profited from discussions about the portrait published here with a number of colleagues: B. Ashmole, O. Brendel, D. M. Brinkerhoff, E. B. Harrison, Bartlett Hayes, V. Poulsen, P. T. Rathbone, B. Rowland, W. S. Smith, D. Thimme, W. J. Young, and another whose name unfortunately cannot be mentioned but whose contributions were of the utmost importance. Mr. Edward J. Moore prepared many of the photographs. Others are acknowledged in the footnotes and captions.

<sup>1</sup> Accession no. 1958.1005; Otis Norcross Fund. H. 15 ½ in. (0.394 m.). Parts of the ears and one or two locks of hair and beard near the ears have been broken in modern times. There are pick marks on the back of the neck. The marble is cloudy with small crystals and appears to be Proconnesian or a similar type from Western Asia Minor. These marbles were widely exported during the third century: see, J. B. Ward Perkins, "Tripolitania and the Marble Trade," *JRS*, 41 (1951), p. 103.

work of a period when portraits are scarce or difficult to identify. The large eyes gazing upward and to the left characterize it as a work of those decades in Late Antiquity when Roman portraiture was abandoning its interest in the specific physical and intellectual details of a face for the inspired icon of post-Constantinian monumental portraiture and, ultimately, of the painting, mosaics, and minor arts of the Byzantine Middle Ages. The transcending quality of the eyes is reinforced by the accented verticality in the carving of the face and neck. The unanatomical structure of fourth- and fifth-century Roman heads is anticipated by presentation of a portrait in which detail, other than the shadowed effect of the hair, is subordinated to the broad flesh areas and their surrounding hair and beard. The eyes loom all the more important not only by virtue of their size but also by way of contrast with the flesh, hair, and beard.

The accent on the drilled hair and beard places the new head somewhat apart from the main development of Roman portraits in the years A.D. 250–300. This stylistic individuality demands explanation in the context of accepted chronologies in portraiture in the second and third quarters of the third century A.D.<sup>2</sup> These years were not only important in the development of Late Antique portraits but, in addition, our understanding of this period has been complicated by the number of styles that were current for a variety of reasons. Portraits made in Rome or Ostia often differed from those made in Greece.<sup>3</sup> Asia Minor had sculptors who worked in styles peculiar to the major cities of that area.<sup>4</sup> Palmyrene portraits are but one manifestation of this art in the regions East of the Mediterranean.<sup>5</sup> Roman Egypt often used an idiom all its own.<sup>6</sup> Portraits and artists moved freely round the Mediterranean, and a work in a regional style need not turn up always in its home area. We shall try to show that the artist who made the Boston head worked in a tradition influenced by portraits from Athens before A.D. 260 and Asia Minor in the century from Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) to Gallienus (253–268).

Another recognized stylistic point about portraits of *ca.* A.D. 260 to 285 is illustrated by the new head. Portraitists were not only constantly making novel experiments in these years but frequently returning for inspiration to older styles of Greek and Roman portraiture. Certain portraits of the period 230–260 lean heavily on prototypes of the last century of the Roman Republic.<sup>7</sup> Under the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus sculptors of portraits and of sarcophagi were inspired by literary and philosophic trends to revive styles of other periods of Graeco-Roman greatness: first the classicism of Augustus or Hadrian,

<sup>2</sup> See generally, H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo, 1933), pp. 1–14; G. Bovini, "Osservazioni sulla ritrattistica romana da Treboniano Gallo a Probo," *MonAnt*, XXXIX (1943), cols. 180–369.

<sup>3</sup> E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture* (Princeton, 1953), Sec. III, pp. 90–105.

<sup>4</sup> L. Budde, "Kleinasiatisches Bildnis des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *JdI*, 54 (1939), pp. 247–255.

<sup>5</sup> A point developed and illustrated by H. Ingholt in the exhibition catalogue, *Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture* (New Haven, 1954); see also, M. Morehart, "Early Sculpture at Palmyra," *Berytus*, 12 (1956–57), p. 74 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Illustrated in the Fayoum portraits and in the coffin-masks in relief: A. Strelkov, *Fayoum Portraits; A Study and Description of these Images* (Moscow, 1936 [in Russian]); C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits*, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1905).

<sup>7</sup> B. Schweitzer, "Altrömische Traditionselemente in der Bildniskunst des Dritten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5 (1954), pp. 173–190.

and then the baroque Hellenism of the Antonine Emperors.<sup>8</sup> After Gallienus the revived Antonine Baroque disappears amid philosophic austerity leading to the cubism of Tetrarch portraiture, especially in coins,<sup>9</sup> but a small group of portraits carries on this Graeco-Roman Neo-Baroque style. One of these is the head published here.

As we examine portraits made in the same century as the new head, the similarity of the technique used in the hair and beard to that of the best contemporary sarcophagi becomes evident. This is especially true of the sarcophagi on which Greek philosophers and personifications stand beside the deceased. Mrs. Elsbeth Dusenbery's analysis of drillwork in the heads of the sarcophagus representing philosophers in the Lateran provides a concise statement of the visual effect of this manifestation of revived Antonine Baroque under Gallienus, on a lower artistic level than that found in the new head: "...the drill has been used on the heads of the sarcophagus figures with an almost mathematical exactitude. Light and dark areas alternate with equal emphasis in a harsh regularity, and the whole is bound into the regular curve of a tightly closed outline. Compared (with Antonine sculpture), the coiffures of the sarcophagus heads have the unyielding, petrified look of coral formations."<sup>10</sup> Something of this characterizes the new Boston head.

#### PORTRAITS IN THE ROMAN TRADITION, A.D. 235-265

To place the new head in its correct framework at the turn of the last quarter of the third century, we must look first at examples of imperial and private portraiture representative of the best work in Rome about the middle of the same century. Partly owing to the distinctiveness of his plump face, the Emperor Balbinus (A.D. 238) has been identified in bronze and marble portraits and on his large sarcophagus in the Museum of the Praetextatus Catacomb.<sup>11</sup> A marble bust in Boston, with the griffins of imperial apotheosis on its base, probably represents Balbinus shortly after his death, for he had been a candidate of the Senate and was remembered as a constitutionally elected emperor in a period when elevation to the purple depended mainly on the whims of the soldiery. In this marble portrait, the debt to craftsmanship in bronze is evident in the incised-line treatment of hair and beard over the plump flesh (fig. 7).<sup>12</sup> This representation of hair and beard by a linear treatment over plastic forms began with portraits of Caracalla in his last years (*ca.* A.D. 215-217),<sup>13</sup> developed under

<sup>8</sup> E. B. Dusenbery, "Sources and Development of Style in Portraits of Gallienus," *Marsyas*, 4 (1948), pp. 1-18.

<sup>9</sup> C. C. Vermeule, "Roman Numismatic Art, A.D. 200-400," *Numismatic Circular*, 65 (1957), p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Dusenbery, *op. cit.*, p. 4, figs. 16a, b; see *infra*, note 74.

<sup>11</sup> B. M. Felletti Maj, *Iconografia Romana Imperiale, Quaderni e Guide di Archeologia*, II (Rome, 1958), pp. 140-146.

<sup>12</sup> Acc. no. 88.347; L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Boston, 1925), p. 226, no. 134; Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, p. 144, no. 139.

<sup>13</sup> The portrait of Caracalla in New York, from a statue showing the Emperor as Hercules, was made in the last year of his rule, or in the period of his rehabilitation under Elagabalus: G. M. A. Richter, "Four Notable Acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *AJA*, 44, no. 4 (1940), pp. 439-442; *idem*, *Roman Portraits* (Metropolitan Museum, 1948), cover and no. 107.



Alexander Severus (222–235), and was the norm in portraits made in Rome (whether in metal or marble) after Alexander Severus' death.<sup>14</sup>

In bronze portraits of the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus (251–253), the face is treated with a naturalism recalling that of the late Republic, but the handling of hair by means of small incisions and gouges makes one conscious of the separation of these parts or surfaces of the head from the plain areas of flesh (fig. 9).<sup>15</sup> We have mentioned the prominence of this separation in the new portrait, even though its hair and beard are represented in a far more dramatic style. In the portraits produced in Rome, however, a reaction to the limitations of the incised-line treatment of hair is apparent at the very time when the style reaches its zenith under Trebonianus Gallus. A contemporary masterpiece of anonymous portraiture in marble, now in the Institute of Arts in Detroit, shows a timid return to the representation of the beard by modeled rather than incised carving (fig. 8).<sup>16</sup> The beard is carved down to the neck below the jowls and chin, a tendency which appears in its richest development in the new portrait in Boston. On a head in the Museo Capitolino, representing the same person who appears as a victorious *imperator* on the Ludovisi battle sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, the moustache, beard, and eyebrows are mostly scratched in, but the hair is treated in groups of long, thin strands and has its ultimate model in portraits of the Augustan or Julio-Claudian periods of the first century A.D. (fig. 10). The man in question has been plausibly identified in a recent article as the Emperor Hostilianus, a contemporary of Trebonianus Gallus.<sup>17</sup>

The full return to marble portraits dependent on traditions of modeling rather than finished casting was a product of renewed classicism under the Emperor Gallienus (253–268).<sup>18</sup> Ancient historians paint a grim picture of the Empire in these years tottering under barbarian pressure, military revolts, and imperial mismanagement; the cumulative blame for fifty years of decline being placed on the shoulders of an Emperor who did what he could to keep the Empire from splitting into four or five separate kingdoms. Gallienus found time to encourage philosophy, Plotinus and Neo-Platonism, and portraiture in Rome was not the least of the arts stimulated as a result of this progress and revival.<sup>19</sup> The ten odd surviving portraits of Gallienus can be arranged chrono-

<sup>14</sup> Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, *passim*, pl. VIII ff.

<sup>15</sup> Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–207, pl. xxxv ff.; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Portrait Busts*, The Arts Council (London, 1953), no. 54.

<sup>16</sup> Acc. no. 27.212; from Rome. H.: 12 ½ in.; W. H(eil), "Four Roman Portrait Heads," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, IX, no. 3 (1927), p. 30; Museum Card Set B. 13; *Paintings and Sculpture Illustrated*, 3rd ed. (1943), p. 35; *Masterpieces of Painting and Sculpture* (1949), p. 25. I owe the photograph, verification of the Detroit Institute references, and permission to publish the portrait to Francis W. Robinson.

<sup>17</sup> H. von Heintze, "Studien zu den Porträts des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. — 4. Der Feldherr des grossen Ludovisischen Schlachtsarkophages," *RM*, 64 (1957), pp. 69–91; H. Stuart Jones (ed.), *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Oxford, 1912), p. 178, no. 92, pl. 39.

<sup>18</sup> A. Alföldi, *Die Vorherrschaft der Pannonier und die Reaktion des Hellenentums unter Gallienus*, Fünfundzwanzig Jahre römisch-germanischer Kommission (Mainz, 1930).

<sup>19</sup> Dusenbery, *loc. cit.*; G. Bovini, "Gallieno: la sua iconografia e i riflessi in essa delle vicende storiche e culturali del tempo," *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia, Memorie*, Ser. VII–II, fasc. 2 (1941), pp. 115–163.

logically to demonstrate a shift from the revived Julio-Claudianism of the Hostilianus head (described *supra*) to the third-century version of Antonine Baroque portraiture, which constitutes one of the main traits of the new head in Boston.<sup>20</sup>

Two portraits of Gallienus in the Museo Capitolino in Rome (fig. 11)<sup>21</sup> and a head in Berlin<sup>22</sup> depend on likenesses of Augustus or of his step-son Nero Drusus, the popular father of Germanicus and the Emperor Claudius. One sees here the incised lines disappearing in the undercut carving of the hair over the forehead and of the sideburns. The later third-century characteristic of having the beard growing on the neck under the chin and jaws is apparent in these heads of Gallienus. Revived classicism becomes more pronounced in the magnificent portrait identified as Gallienus in the Smith College Art Museum, Northampton, Massachusetts (fig. 12).<sup>23</sup> Gallienus in this instance looks more like Hadrian (A.D. 117–138); the Hadrianic style, blended with the third-century emphasis on the sitter's spiritual life, is apparent in the carving of the hair and beard in delicate groups of curls and fine strands. Portraits of Gallienus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, the Museo Torlonia (fig. 13), the Louvre, and in Copenhagen show, to a greater or lesser extent, the revival of hair styles and the use of lights and darks in portraiture found under Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus (A.D. 140–190).<sup>24</sup> This implies fuller cutting of the hair on the forehead and deeper, more richly carved and drilled work on the beard. The Emperor sometimes looks like an Antonine ruler or a Greek philosopher; the climate in imperial portraiture is suitable for the production of a head such as the one published here. A head of Gallienus recently found in Portugal has sideburns and hair at the back of the head showing the same close curls and fullness as the portrait in Boston; it stands at the peak of this classical revival which led to the perpetuation of stylistic currents of a century earlier.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> M. Leeb, "A New Portrait of Gallienus," Smith College Museum of Art, *Bulletin*, nos. 29–32 (June 1951), pp. 8–10.

<sup>21</sup> Leeb *op. cit.*, nos. 1, 2; Stuart Jones, *Museo Capitolino*, pl. 52, no. 76, pl. 37, no. 27.

<sup>22</sup> C. Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* (Berlin, 1933), p. 47f., no. R114, pl. 74.

<sup>23</sup> Leeb, *op. cit.*, *passim*, dated shortly after the beginning of his sole rule, in A.D. 260. The Director of the Smith College Art Museum has kindly furnished the photograph reproduced here.

<sup>24</sup> A. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano: R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome, 1932), no. 736; Leeb, *op. cit.*, no. 3; Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, p. 225f., no. 293, pl. XLII.

B. Rome, Museo Torlonia: C. L. Visconti, *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia* (Rome, 1884), no. 604; Leeb, *op. cit.* no. 4; Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, p. 226f., no. 295, pl. XLII.

C. Paris, Louvre: Dusenbery, *op. cit.*, fig. 11; Leeb, *op. cit.*, no. 5; Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, p. 224, no. 292, pl. XLII.

D. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture* (Copenhagen, 1951), no. 768; Leeb, *op. cit.*, no. 6; Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, p. 227, no. 296, pl. XLII, who supplies full bibliography for all four portraits.

<sup>25</sup> Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, p. 226, no. 294, pl. XLIII, who speaks of the intensity and plasticity of this portrait as indications of its possible Greek origin; *FastiA*, VI (1951), no. 4024, fig. 107. The hair over the forehead is less linear than in most other portraits of Gallienus; in no case does the workmanship in the portraits of Gallienus as sole Augustus approach the degree of controlled drilling found in the hair and beard of the Boston head.

## ANTONINE PORTRAITS FROM WHICH THE BOSTON HEAD DERIVES

The relationship between the Boston head and Antonine portraits needs clarification by analysis and illustration. The new head in right and left profile shows an arrangement of hair dependent on portraits of the period from Antoninus Pius through Commodus, portraits made both in Rome and in Asia Minor. The head of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) in the E. P. Warren collection at Bowdoin College is one of the best surviving portraits of that Emperor and has points in common with the late third-century portrait published here (fig. 14).<sup>26</sup> The high polish sets off the face and neck; the hair is massed over the ears and on the back of the neck; the beard forms deep lines and curls, beneath which a strong jaw and prominent chin may be discerned as characteristics of the person portrayed.<sup>27</sup>

Two Antonine busts in Boston exhibit features revived in the new head. One of these, which comes from Spain, shows the same incised-line treatment of the thick moustache, the beard with thick curls on either side divided by thin hair on the chin, and the elongated face which in the later period could be enhanced by the *mystique* of large eyes with pronounced irises and wide double circles for the pupils (fig. 15).<sup>28</sup> The second portrait, sometimes identified as Marcus Aurelius when he was Caesar (ca. A.D. 155), but probably a private citizen of the following decade, exhibits the Antonine large eyes and hair in tight, corkscrew curls, in which the use of the running drill and the deliberate preservation of bridges in the drilled channels begin to become evident (fig. 16).<sup>29</sup> The surface is also polished, but in none of the Antonine portraits mentioned here is the polish as high and as hard as that found in the third-century portrait with which we are dealing or in sarcophagi of ca. A.D. 270, such as the sarcophagus from Acilia in the Museo Nazionale Romano.<sup>30</sup>

In the portrait of Marcus Aurelius at the height of his career, ca. A.D. 175, recently acquired by the Art Museum, Princeton University, we note the use of the drill in the rich hair and beard, thin, incised lines close to the cheeks and

<sup>26</sup> M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit, Das römische Herrscherbild*, II, 4 (Berlin, 1939), p. 126; S. Casson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Warren Classical Collection of Bowdoin College* (Brunswick, Maine, 1934), p. 3, SW-3; *Handbook of the Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts*, 5th ed. (Brunswick, Maine, 1950), p. 20, fig. 13. The photograph is reproduced by courtesy of the Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts.

<sup>27</sup> Other portraits of Antoninus Pius show the degree of dependence on portraits of this Emperor found in the new head in Boston; in M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*, cf. pl. 3, right profile (Rome, Terme no. 718); pl. 4, slightly to the right (Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 6078); etc.

<sup>28</sup> Acc. no. 01.8193; Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 222, no. 131; A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*, I (Madrid, 1949), p. 64f., no. 50; II, pls. 44f.

<sup>29</sup> Acc. no. 24.419; Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 220ff., no. 130; Wegner, *op. cit.*, p. 171. A. Hekler has identified the sitter as G. Volcacius Myronous, a man known from an inscribed portrait found in the necropolis at Isola Sacra: *ArchAnz* (1933), col. 398; *ibid.* (1932), col. 471, fig. 7. G. Calza has rightly questioned this identification: *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), p. 225.

<sup>30</sup> R. Bianchi Bandinelli, "Sarcophago da Acilia con la designazione di Gordiano III," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXXIX (1954), pp. 200–220; S. Aurigemma, *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano*, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1955), p. 128f., no. 330, pl. LXXIf.; this sarcophagus is discussed below, in some detail and with further references. The high, hard polish occurs on the season sarcophagus in New York, from near Rome via Badminton House, dated ca. A.D. 220–235 by F. Matz: *Ein römisches Meisterwerk, Der Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton-New York, JdI*, 19, Suppl. (Berlin, 1958), p. 167.

neck, large eyes gazing upwards, and a high polish (fig. 18).<sup>31</sup> The presence of these details in an accentuated form makes the Antonine derivation of the new Boston head, a work of about a century later, very apparent when the two portraits are compared.<sup>32</sup> When we turn to a head of Commodus as Bacchus, *ca.* 190, from Tralles in the Maeander valley of Western Asia Minor, now in the Canterbury Museum, a head showing extensive drillwork as well as the East Greek notion of the heaven-gazing ruler, the Antonine and later relationships stressed here become so obvious that further examples are unnecessary by way of demonstration (fig. 17).<sup>33</sup> The Commodus is the product of a workshop in Aphrodisias or Smyrna, and when we study portraits of the third century our belief that East Greek artistic ideas served as inspiration for the Boston head are even further confirmed.<sup>34</sup>

#### FORERUNNERS IN THE PERIOD A.D. 200-260

Certain heads of the first half of the third century A.D. carry the Antonine characteristics described above to the form in which they reappear in the new head. A head in Boston, excavated in Rome and identified from a statue base found with it as C. Mummius Caecilianus Placidus, belongs to the transition from the Antonine-Severan portraits to those of the second quarter of the century (figs. 19, 20).<sup>35</sup> The hair above the forehead is worked out in detail with the help of the drill and the heavy locks come down to the ears and the nape of the neck. This portrait anticipates features of the so-called classical revival under Gallienus. A cuirassed bust of a man, in the Museo Nuovo Capitolino, has been dated in the first half of the third century by R. Paribeni and in the period of Gallienus by Mustilli; the drilled hair over the forehead, combined with modeled and incised beard, anticipates the general appearance of the new Boston head, but the cuirassed military man belongs to the reign of Alexander Severus (fig. 21).<sup>36</sup>

If we turn for a moment to monumental sarcophagi, the art in which we encounter methods of carving like those in the new head, we shall see the traditions discussed here carried on to *ca.* A.D. 230 in the portrait of the deceased on the first of two well-known sarcophagi with hunting scenes, in the Palazzo

<sup>31</sup> Acc. no. 58-1; H.: 13 1/2 in. (0.34 m.); *ArtQ*, 21, no. 2 (Summer 1958), p. 216f., fig.; from an English private collection. The nose is restored. Miss Frances Jones has kindly furnished the photograph, taken by Elizabeth Menzies.

<sup>32</sup> The heavy eyelids of the Boston head are a feature borrowed from portraits of Marcus Aurelius: cf. Wegner, *op. cit.*, pl. 28ff.; also Commodus: Wegner, pl. 51ff.

<sup>33</sup> The Commodus in Canterbury is published in "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," Part III, 1, *AJA*, 63, no. 2 (April, 1959), p. 146; it appears in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Canterbury Museum and Public Library*, no. 6 (Autumn 1948). Mr. F. Jenkins has supplied the photograph and information. Cf. also the so-called "transfigured Commodus" in the Museo Nazionale Romano: H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo, 1947), p. 71f., fig. 46; Wegner, *op. cit.*, pl. 50.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the two early third-century busts in Brussels from Smyrna and the head of *ca.* A.D. 270 in Frankfurt from Rome: F. Cumont, *Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques* (Brussels, 1913), p. 49ff., no. 39f.

<sup>35</sup> Acc. no. 88.349; Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 225f., no. 133.

<sup>36</sup> R. Paribeni, *Il ritratto nell'arte antica* (Milan, 1934), pl. 309; D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome, 1939), p. 154, no. 17, pl. xciv, 352.

Mattei in Rome (fig. 22).<sup>37</sup> We see here the same lines in the moustache and on the chin, the same drilling of the hair over the forehead, and the same carving and drilling as the beard moves from the mutton-chops down to the neck beneath the jaws. A head (the so-called "Carinus") in the Stanza degli Imperatori of the Museo Capitolino in Rome has been dated in the Antonine period by the British School Catalogue and in the first half of the third century A.D. by R. Paribeni (fig. 23).<sup>38</sup> The first dating was certainly influenced by the dependence of the head on Antonine prototypes, but the portrait belongs to the years close to A.D. 250 and stands apart from the Roman tradition discussed above in presenting the subject with rich curly hair and a modeled beard. Not only in the eyes but in the strong reliance on incised lines below the cheeks, on the chin, and for the moustache does one see the later date of this bust. These details anticipate similar features in the head at Boston.

Two other heads span the period from the middle of the third century into the reign of Gallienus; both are in Western European museums and come from Italy. A portrait in the Museo del Prado in Madrid is dated by the cataloguer *ca.* A.D. 250 (fig. 24).<sup>39</sup> The traits discussed in connection with the standard Roman portraits (of Trebonianus Gallus and the like) of this period and certain characteristics of the Boston head are combined here. The hair which forms a flat cap on the top of the head is rendered by a series of incised lines, but the moustache and beard are drilled in a forceful fashion, resembling the treatment of the beard of the Boston head as a mass of tight, drilled curls. A portrait of a man in the Sala delle Colombe of the Museo Capitolino has been dated in the reign of Gallienus and has hair of the Julio-Claudian type and a beard which combines some drilling with plastic modelling of curls.<sup>40</sup> In style this portrait stands halfway between portraits of Gallienus of *ca.* A.D. 260 and the tendencies evident at a later date in the new head.

#### FORERUNNERS FROM GREECE AND ASIA MINOR

The portraits of Cosmetes, or religious leaders and thinkers, set up (often with dated herms or pedestals) in the Agora of Athens offer a narrowly dated conspectus of portraiture in the greatest Greek city in its latest phases under the Roman Empire.<sup>41</sup> The development comes to an abrupt halt in A.D. 267 when the city was laid waste by the Herulian invaders, just as Antioch in Syria suffered complete artistic destruction as a result of the Sassanian devastations

<sup>37</sup> G. Rodenwaldt, "Zur Kunstgeschichte der Jahre 220 bis 270," *JdI*, 51 (1936), p. 84f., fig. 1; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates, V, p. 178f.

<sup>38</sup> Stuart Jones, *Museo Capitolino*, p. 212f., no. 79, pl. 52; R. Paribeni, *op. cit.*, pl. 308.

<sup>39</sup> A. Blanco, Museo del Prado, *Catalogo de la escultura*, I (Madrid, 1957), p. 20f., no. 10-E, pl. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Stuart Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 180, no. 97, pl. 42.

<sup>41</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 98ff.; L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, p. 9ff.; H. Weber, *Gnomon*, 26 (1954), p. 372ff. The influence of the Cosmetes style was felt in Rome, among other places, in the portraits on the lids of large sarcophagi, such as the Attic Achilles sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino from Monte del Grano (L'Orange, *op. cit.*, p. 9, no. 2, figs. 12, 14). A portraitist must have been in residence in the showrooms of Attic sarcophagi in Rome; no doubt he often came from the parent atelier in Greece.

seven years earlier and as the artistic activity of many a city in Asia Minor was curtailed by barbarian inroads after A.D. 250. In the years 200 to 260 portraits of Cosmetes in and around Athens reflect a blending of Greek feeling for sculpture in the round and a Roman interest in progressive naturalism; Asiatic and Egyptian experiments in inspired psychological presentation often infringe on this duality of traditional Graeco-Roman portrayal (however much this double aspect seems to have been modernized).

Two Athenian portraits of Cosmetes made *ca.* A.D. 220–230 foreshadow the Boston head in style, technical details, and general appearance. The first is a bald-headed man with drilled hair at the sides of his head and a drilled beard;<sup>42</sup> the second, closer in all details and in general effect, has the same hair and beard as those of the new head but without the same differentiation between the face, hair, and beard and without the lightly carved, undrilled hair of the moustache and chin (fig. 25).<sup>43</sup> The absence of the latter details confirms the dating of the second Athenian head a half-century earlier than the one published here. Clearly, then, we have evidence that, while many aspects of the Boston head are foreshadowed in portraits from Italian workshops, the closest parallels from an earlier period are to be sought in Greece and, as we shall see, in Asia Minor.

An important contribution, in this respect, of western Asia Minor is a head in Berlin from Miletropolis in Mysia (fig. 26). This head has achieved a measure of fame in the present century as the example *par excellence* of third-century portraiture in Asia Minor, and most authorities now date this portrait in the reign of Gallienus.<sup>44</sup> It does not lessen the force of the arguments presented here if its date is moved back to the last years of Alexander Severus.<sup>45</sup> When the portrait from Miletropolis is placed alongside the Boston head, several similarities become apparent: the large eyes with half-moon pupils and large circles for the irises, rich hair framing the forehead and falling down to a heavy mass of rough curls on the back of the neck and between the ears, broad eyebrows treated in a series of incised lines, moustache and beard represented by similarly incised lines merging with curls on the cheeks and neck, and (where the Berlin head permits comparison) the thin bridge of the nose with the area directly between the eyes cut in more deeply than in less sensitive Roman portraits. More than in mere details, however; it is in the general cast of the head, in the eyes that are turned to the sitter's left, and in the long face and neck that we see that the Berlin and Boston heads belong to a common tradition of portraiture; momen-

<sup>42</sup> P. Graindor, "Les Cosmétès du Musée d'Athènes," *BCH*, 39 (1915), p. 332, no. 12, fig. 17 (inv. no. 338).

<sup>43</sup> Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 337ff., no. 14, fig. 19 (inv. no. 342); Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 93f., with the observation that the Antonine technique survives in the vermicular drilling among the curls of the beard.

<sup>44</sup> C. Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, p. 47, no. R113, pl. 73; L. Budde, *JdI*, 54 (1939), p. 254.

A portrait bust of a bearded man, head tilted back and with upturned eyes, belonged to the Brummer Gallery and is said to have come from Asia Minor: Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Baltimore, 1947), p. 24, no. 7, pl. vi. The drilling of hair and beard, as well as the cast of the face make this the perfect transitional piece from the Athenian Cosmetes no. 14 to portraits from Asia Minor of the time of Gallienus. I would be inclined to date it about A.D. 260.

<sup>45</sup> So Dusenbery, *op. cit.*, p. 3ff., fig. 18.

tary withdrawal and preoccupation with thoughts beyond the world of reality are shared by these and other heads.<sup>46</sup>

#### PARALLELS IN THE LAST YEARS OF GALLIENUS AND LATER

The comparisons adduced in the previous sections, close as they are to the new head, betray nevertheless degrees of stylistic difference which indicate that the head in Boston is later than any of them, later than the first decade of the Emperor Gallienus. None of the portraits mentioned so far has quite the lack of articulation between face and neck, the same indifference to surface movement in the face, and the tight, mechanical precision of drilling in the hair and beard. Three other portraits exhibit these qualities in the period A.D. 260 to 280. They are:

1. Head of a man, no. 580 in Room X of the Museo Profano Lateranense (fig. 27).<sup>47</sup> The hair is drilled at the top over the forehead, at the sides and in the beard, but not on the chin. Of this portrait, A. Giuliano has recently noted that the treatment recalled late Antonine portraiture, "ma qualche caratteristica, come l'alternarsi della tecnica a trapano con quella a scalpello, suggerisce una datazione nell'età di Gallieno quando sembrano rivedere alcuni motive barocchi antoniniani."

2. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek no. 760, a man of *ca.* A.D. 265, from Rome.<sup>48</sup> The long hair, covering the ears, is undercut by drilling, and the short, curly beard grows down the neck. F. Poulsen notes that while this fashion originates *ca.* A.D. 250 it is not combined with long hair until the time of Gallienus.

3. Head in the London Art Market, from Stowe and Lowther Castle (fig. 28).<sup>49</sup> The head was formerly set on an early imperial togate body of different marble and workmanship; they have been separated, and the latter has been stripped

<sup>46</sup> Something of the same qualities, on a lower level of workmanship, appear in a head found in the Athenian Agora and dated by Miss Harrison in the period of Gallienus (*op. cit.* 62 f., no. 48, pl. 31). Of the use of the drill to outline the locks of hair, she notes: "... it is doubtless an extension to portrait sculpture of a technique used in cheap copies and imitations of classical sculpture and in carving of relief sarcophagi." A bronze head in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, identified by G. A. S. Snijder as Valerianus II, shows how misplaced the revival under Gallienus of the East Greek feeling for plastic form was in the medium of bronze (*Critica d'Arte*, I [1935], p. 30 ff., pl. 18 ff.).

The bust of a full-bearded, middle-aged man of the late Severan period and the cuirassed bust of a man of *ca.* A.D. 255, found in a cache of sculptures at Antioch, show that the "Graeco-Asiatic" and the "Roman" styles exercised the same duality in the Greek East that they did in the area of Rome. The bearded man, with features not unlike Septimius Severus in the last year of his reign, has heavily drilled strands of hair, beard, and moustache. The cuirassed officer is younger, less philosophic and more vigorous; his hair is treated in regularly drilled incisions (somewhat different from those of the truly Roman style), and the beard makes a timid effort at plasticity as it creeps from chin down on to the neck. See *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, *The Excavations 1933-1936*, edited by R. Stillwell (Princeton, 1938), p. 172, no. 133 f., pl. 5. D. M. Brinkerhoff called my attention to the problems of this cache; he is planning a fuller publication of the group of mythological, historical, and decorative sculptures against the background of Greek imperial workshops in Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Smyrna, and other Western Asiatic cities.

<sup>47</sup> A. Giuliano, *Catalogo dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense* (Vatican City, 1957), p. 76 f., no. 94, pl. 56.

<sup>48</sup> F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture* (Copenhagen, 1951), p. 527 f., no. 760.

<sup>49</sup> A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882), p. 491, no. 14; F. Poulsen, *Einzelaufnahmen*, XI, under no. 3077.

of restored arms, feet, and plinth. Although much scraped and cleaned and with nose, chin, and a patch in the right cheek restored, this bearded head reveals on a lower artistic level all the characteristics of organization and drillwork found in the Boston head. The head from Lowther Castle is not more than three or four years earlier than the new portrait.

#### CARINUS AND NUMERIANUS, A.D. 282-285

A colossal head in the Sala dei Magistrati of the Palazzo dei Conservatori has been plausibly identified on grounds of style and numismatic comparisons as the Emperor Carinus, son of Carus and elder brother of Numerianus (fig. 30).<sup>50</sup> This head forms a close counterpart, in the Roman tradition, of the Boston head which shows to a more marked degree characteristics found in portraits from Athens and Asia Minor. The Conservatori Carinus has the same large eyes, simplicity of detail, and transition from polished flesh to incised curly beard. Differences are evident in the treatment of the hair as a tight, lightly carved cap and in the absence of drilling in the beard. If the Carinus from Castro Pretorio is one of the last manifestations in Italy of the renewed Hellenism of Gallienus, the new head in Boston may be regarded as a contemporary work manifesting a greater degree of that Hellenism, expressed in slightly different terms but producing essentially the same spiritual effect. As regards the execution of the eyelids and the incised lines leading from the cheeks and neck to the beard, the Boston head is more carefully carved; finer lines are also used in the moustache and eyebrows.

The relationship of the Conservatori Carinus and the Boston head leads to a possibility of identifying the person represented in the latter. Carinus was not a savory personality, although the recital of his crimes by Vopiscus and others may have been intended to contrast with the virtues of his successor Diocletian.<sup>51</sup> Numerianus, the younger son of Carus, died naturally or otherwise near Heraclea in Thrace at the age of thirty-two, in A.D. 284. He was apparently as thoroughly attractive as his older brother was unattractive, being noted for his pleasant disposition and his abilities as poet and rhetorician. One pictures him more at home in Greek and Latin studies than among the legionaries, whom he was forced to lead on the Eastern frontier during his father's and his own brief reigns.<sup>52</sup> It would be natural to have a portrait of Numerianus represented in the Greek or Western Asiatic fashion, in contrast to portraits of Carinus. Allowing for the literary overtones of the marble head, the profile is like that of Numerianus on his medallions and coins as Emperor. On his last issues he wears a beard along the jaws and under the chin (fig. 29).<sup>53</sup> Association of the

<sup>50</sup> Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, p. 283 f., no. 379, pl. LIX, fig. 203, with bibliography; Arndt-Bruckmann, pl. 877 f.; Stuart Jones, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, p. 76, Fasti Moderni, II, no. 5, pl. 22.

<sup>51</sup> E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. W. Smith, II (London, 1881), p. 56 ff.

<sup>52</sup> *Historia Augusta*, Loeb ed., XI, p. 432 ff.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham (etc.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, 2 (London, 1933), pl. VIII, nos. 6, 12; F. Trau Sale, A. Hess (Lucerne, May 1935), no. 3183 (Antoninianus from aureus dies); K. Pink, "Medaillonprägung unter Carus und seinen Söhnen," *Centennial Publication of the*



new head with Carus is ruled out by his age and baldness. The new head could well be that of a man of thirty-two, and present the features of an Emperor remembered for accomplishments rare in the successors of Gallienus. The fact that the family names of Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus were Marcus Aurelius is reason enough for the production of a portrait of Numerianus in the late Antonine tradition.<sup>54</sup>

#### THE STYLE OF THE BOSTON HEAD CONTINUED INTO THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

Six portraits, five of them in the round and one among the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine in Rome, carry the stylistic traditions of the Boston head into the middle of the fourth century A.D. The first and last heads were made, appropriately enough, in Asia Minor; the middle three are in Rome or come from the capital. Only a few observations on workmanship in portrait sarcophagi and a word on numismatic parallels remain to complete the framework into which we can fit the new head. The six portraits are:

1. Head of the Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284–305) in Istanbul, from Nicomedia.<sup>55</sup> Although the hair follows the Roman fashion of not being drilled, its arrangement over the forehead, the beard framing the face, and the thinner hair of the moustache and chin continue the style of the Boston head in the first decade of the Tetrarchs.

We may also note in passing:

1a. Head in Dresden: this portrait stands between the Conservatori Carinus and the colossal marble head of Constantine in the same collection.<sup>56</sup> The tight curls of the hair and beard are shared by the Boston head; the head in Dresden should be dated A.D. 290.

2. Bust of a young *imperator* ("Alexander Severus"); no. 293 in the Sala dei Busti of the Vatican (fig. 31).<sup>57</sup> The hair is drilled in a mass of tight curls in the Antonine tradition of the Boston head; the eyes, eyebrows, incised beard, and schematic rendering of the face recall portraits of *ca.* A.D. 280, but these tendencies have been given emphasis in the direction of stark simplicity, so that the head must belong to the beginning of Constantine's rule, *ca.* A.D. 310.

*American Numismatic Society* (New York, 1958), p. 558, no. 12; also the bronze medallions: *Ars Classica*, Sale XVIII (Geneva, 1938), no. 472 (which is Hirsch Sale XXIV, Consul Weber, no. 2423); *Ars Classica*, Sale VIII (Geneva, 1924), no. 1428 (C. S. Bement), showing the beard under the chin.

<sup>54</sup> The number of Emperors with Antonine and Severan names in this period is both proof of the esteem with which these ages were remembered and a reminder that the Balkan provinces produced a number of rulers whose ancestors had settled the area in the years from Antoninus Pius to Caracalla. Rodenwaldt speaks of the Antonine desire to figure the Emperor as the "philosopher regnant," as opposed to Caracalla's wish to be presented as "the simple soldier" (*Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, p. 545). Numerianus would have favored the former mode of portrayal; in the period *ca.* 280 this would be the Graeco-Asiatic as opposed to the Roman style.

<sup>55</sup> F. K. Dörner, "Ein neuer Porträtkopf des Kaisers Diokletian," *Die Antike*, 17 (1941), pp. 139–146; *ArchAnz* (1939), col. 170, figs. 36–39; H. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

<sup>56</sup> V. Müller, in *Antike Plastik, Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1928), p. 152 ff., fig. 1; the Conservatori Constantine (R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts* [Berlin, 1933], pl. 37 ff.) is available for comparison as fig. 3.

<sup>57</sup> W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, II (Berlin, 1908), p. 487, no. 293, pl. 64.

3. Colossal head of a young man, found on the Esquiline Hill and now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Fasti Moderni I, no. 5) (fig. 32).<sup>58</sup> The eyes look upwards to the sitter's left, producing, along with other details, a superficial resemblance to the Boston head, but the simplified, rolled curls arranged in a regular pattern round the forehead and the smooth face and neck are products of the period from *ca.* A.D. 315 to the death of Constantine. H. P. L'Orange has compared this portrait to a head of Constantine set in one of the Hadrianic *tondi* on the Arch of Constantine and suggested that the young man might be Crispus, Constantine's eldest son.<sup>59</sup> Crispus was put to death in 337, the last year of Constantine's reign.

4. The colossal head of Constantine from the Giustiniani collection now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, has the same gaze, directed upward and to the left, but places increased stress on vertical symmetry topped by simple, schematic curls (fig. 33).<sup>60</sup> In this portrait, dated *ca.* 325, the tendency to geometric form noticeable in the Boston head becomes a frame of organization more conceptual than anything encountered in the period after Carinus. The absence of a beard makes the transition from the neck to the face seem more abrupt than in any of the heads discussed in this section.

5. The heads of the Roman citizens in the north frieze of the Arch of Constantine show that *ca.* A.D. 315 the drill was still used in the fullest possible fashion for hair, beard, and moustache.<sup>61</sup> The workmanship of the Constantinian friezes in the arch provides a post-Tetrarch link between portraiture, historical relief, and carving on sarcophagi. The use of the drill is frequently encountered in heads of the Greek type on sarcophagi contemporary with the Boston head (see *infra*). There are, however, too few state or historical reliefs of this period for a fuller comparison with non-funerary monumental relief. The Arch of Galerius at Salonica provides examples of deep drillwork in a rough and deteriorated form. In the Constantinian period we have the two *Victoriae* supporting the inscription on the Baths of Helena and Constantine. The ensemble is now built into a wall in the Sala a Croce Greca of the Vatican. The head of the *Victoria* on the left presents one of the latest examples in state relief of the Hellenistic (topknot) hair style and the Greek imperial technique of carving. A monumental relief of a running *Victoria* in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul, from the Constantinian city, offers further evidence for the perpetuation of these techniques in the fourth century A.D.<sup>61a</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Stuart Jones, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, p. 70, pl. 32.

<sup>59</sup> H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, p. 131, no. 76, fig. 146f.

<sup>60</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Roman Portraits* (Metropolitan Museum, 1948), no. 110 and bibliography; Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, pl. 28f.; acc. no. 26.229; bequest of Mary Clark Thompson, 1926. The photograph appears by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum and through the kindness of Miss Christine Alexander. Certain characteristics of the arrangement of hair on the sides of the Boston head linger on in the heads of Constantine from the arch in Rome: e.g. Delbrueck, pl. 27A, a head in one of the Hadrianic *tondi*; A. Giuliano, *Arco di Costantino* (Milan, 1955), fig. 51.

<sup>61</sup> H. Kähler, "Dekorative Arbeiten aus der Werkstatt des Konstantinsbogens," *JdI*, 51 (1936), p. 189, fig. 10; Giuliano, *op. cit.*, fig. 44. All the hair styles discussed in this paper occur to a greater or lesser extent in the Constantinian friezes; the level of workmanship varies from powerful simplicity to crudeness.

<sup>61a</sup> The right-hand *Victoria* from the Baths of Helena is too greatly restored for stylistic analysis: G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, III, 1 (Berlin, 1936), p. 190f., nos. 586, 591,

6. A portrait of a bearded man in the Musée Cinquantaire in Brussels comes from Aphrodisias in Caria.<sup>62</sup> This head continues the style of the new portrait in Boston after the middle of the fourth century, keeping the plastic form of hair, face (in the tradition of Greek sculpture), and beard. The transcendentalism, however, has become frozen into an image of pre-Byzantine conceptualism; the eyes are round and stare in a fixed fashion. We may observe this loss of inner life progress into the fourth century in portraits 2 through 4 of the group discussed here.

#### RELATIONSHIP OF THE BOSTON PORTRAIT TO HEADS ON SARCOPHAGI

The sarcophagus found at Acilia on the road from Rome to Ostia a few years ago and now in the Museo Nazionale Romano is a disturbing document of portraiture in the years *ca.* A.D. 270 to 280 (figs. 34, 36). One scholar has identified the young Roman on the left, who is the center of attention on the part of some of the elders around him, as the Emperor Gordianus III (238–244) (fig. 35).<sup>63</sup> This would not necessarily imply that the sarcophagus was his, for the figures of a man (largely lost) and a woman (head preserved) occupied the center front according to the schema of marriage sarcophagi such as those in the Museo Torlonia and in the Museo Nazionale in Naples. Whoever the young Roman is, the monument may be that of his parents or other relatives.

The present writer has attempted to identify the boy as Hostilianus and the sarcophagus as that of Etruscilla (and, thus, a cenotaph of Traianus Decius, who was lost in the morasses of Moesia).<sup>64</sup> Helga von Heintze's dating of the sarcophagus twenty to thirty years after Decius' defeat and death is sound on stylistic grounds;<sup>65</sup> a monument such as this would naturally commemorate the transmission of power to Hostilianus, a major event in Etruscilla's life. Etruscilla lived on in Rome after the death of her husband and her two children. An attractive alternative is that the sarcophagus may commemorate Salonina (and Gallienus), the youth who is given such prominence being their son Saloninus. Saloninus was put to death by Postumus at Cologne in 259, at the age of about seventeen. We have already commented on the plausibility of Baroness von Heintze's identification of the Ludovisi battle sarcophagus as that of Hostilianus (A.D. 252).<sup>66</sup>

The disturbing factor in the style of the Acilia sarcophagus lies in the difference between the head of the boy and those of the philosophers, men of letters, and personifications surrounding him. It is almost as if his head had been recut from an older one, especially in view of his enormous hand. The boy's portrait

pl. 74. The relief in Istanbul was seen, walled up in the "Hunter's Gate," by early travelers: G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures*, II (Constantinople, 1912), p. 449 ff., no. 667; Vermeule, "Aspects of Victoria on Roman Coins, Gems, and in Monumental Art," *NumCirc*, 66 (1958), Appendix, no. 11.

<sup>62</sup> G. Rodenwaldt, *Griechische Porträts aus dem Ausgang der Antike*, 76 (Berlin, 1919), p. 18 ff., no. 11, fig. 7; Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 51 ff., no. 41.

<sup>63</sup> R. Bianchi Bandinelli; see *supra*, note 30.

<sup>64</sup> *AJA*, 60 (1956), p. 209.

<sup>65</sup> *RM*, 64 (1957), p. 91, note 171.

<sup>66</sup> See *supra*, note 17. On page 71 of the article she lists the opinions and identifications which have swayed scholars since the sarcophagus was discovered in 1620.

conforms strictly to the "Roman" tradition. This is one of the principal styles of portraiture discussed in these pages in relation to artistic currents preceding the period from Gallienus to Numerianus in Rome and the Eastern provinces. This head has no rich, drilled curls. The eyes are large with half-moon pupils and big circular irises, as befits a portrait of *ca.* A.D. 270–285, but the hair is carved in tight V-shaped wedges with an overlay of incised lines. The drove used in smoothing down the face is very evident, and the contrast with the high polish of the hand and the faces of the philosophers and the Genius Senatus to the boy's left is extreme.<sup>66a</sup> One might almost suppose that the youth's face had been touched with plaster and paint, to make it stand out more.

The philosophers to the left of the boy, whether living or dead, must have been Greeks or men trained in the atmosphere of Neo-Platonism. The filleted head of the Genius Senatus next to the mutilated principal figure may be derived through the Otricoli Zeus from the Sarapis of Bryaxis or the Blacas Asklepios of the fourth century B.C.<sup>67</sup> The heads of these figures have ample curls and rich beards; both the hair and beard are deeply cut with the running drill, channels being broken up by *puntelli* as in the Boston head. Other surfaces have, as has been mentioned, a high finish. This similarity to the techniques employed in the Boston portrait is not coincidental; other sarcophagi of the same period present, to a less startling degree to be sure, examples of the Roman style used for the principal figure (usually the deceased) and the florid Graeco-Asiatic style used for secondary philosophers or mythological figures. This suggests that the artists of the Boston head and the few portraits that may be grouped around it worked in a style associated less with portraiture than with mythology and the copyist tradition. It would seem likely on the basis of the portraits discussed above that these artists learned the technique of carving mythological scenes and Graeco-Roman copies in ateliers that had their roots in Athens or Aphrodisias; when they had an opportunity to do portraits they were no less competent than their portraitist colleagues grounded in the metalworking tradition, but *their portraits were noticeably different and, like their copies, noticeably traditional in concept*. The head in the background of the Acilia sarcophagus, the second to the boy's left, even looks like the person who sat for or inspired the portrait in Boston.<sup>68</sup>

A few other sarcophagi may be mentioned for their relation to the style and technique of the Boston head. The following are representative:

1. Sarcophagus with the deceased couple standing amid attendants and philosophers; Rome, Museo Torlonia no. 395 (discussed above as a monument of the decade 270–280, the date of the sarcophagus from Acilia).<sup>69</sup> Although it

<sup>66a</sup> The same hair, combined with a beard like that of the Conservatori Carinus (*supra*, note 50), is seen in the damaged but magnificent head of a man of A.D. 270 to 280 in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (Mass.): G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Observations on Roman Portraiture, Collection Latomus*, XI (Brussels, 1953), p. 17 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. G. Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1 (Munich, 1950), pl. 95.

<sup>68</sup> This head does not show well in general views of the sarcophagus, and no published photograph shows this part in detail.

<sup>69</sup> Museo Torlonia, *Album*, pl. 99; Bianchi Bandinelli's detailed study of condition and restorations appears as an Appendix to his discussion of the sarcophagus from Acilia: *op. cit.*, p. 202 ff., especially p. 220.

is heavily restored, R. Bianchi Bandinelli's recent study and detailed photograph have shown several crucial heads to be ancient. His figure no. 7, a bearded man on the left front, has features similar to those of the Boston head; the hair and beard are carved and drilled in the same fashion. This also applies to the technique of nos. 13 and 15, farther to the left; the second is a Greek philosopher bearing a strong resemblance to Socrates.<sup>70</sup>

2. If we follow Rodenwaldt's dating, the sarcophagus with hunting scenes in the Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome takes us back to the years 235–240 (fig. 37).<sup>71</sup> The Roman traditions of incised-line rendering of hair and beard are developed from late Severan portraiture (as discussed *supra*) in the standing and the riding hunter, who is evidently the same man. The style of the Boston head is exemplified by the attendant at the back, to the right of the standing hunter. Clearly, the dictates of current Roman fashion were closely observed in the principal portraits on the major sarcophagi of the third century; just as the "Roman" portrait busts discussed in the beginning of this paper numerically far exceed in the Roman West the florid, drilled heads, so their counterparts on sarcophagi are correspondingly more numerous. Whether or not this means that the portraitists and the sarcophagus carvers were different persons is hard to say, although the practice of exporting sarcophagi with uncarved portraits and the number of surviving unfinished examples would suggest that such was the case.<sup>72</sup> The stylistic differences, discussed above, between most portraits and secondary figures would also seem to support this suggestion.

3. In another sarcophagus in the Museo Torlonia, we see a seated reader in the center, flanked by philosophers (the Seven Sages and the Nine Muses); Rodenwaldt dates this monument in the decade 250–260.<sup>73</sup> The seated man's hair is treated with the linear incisions characteristic of bronze portraits of Trebonianus Gallus; his beard also recalls work in metal, but some of the whiskers are modeled and curl on the jaws. The philosophers, as we might expect by now, have curly hair and beards, both drilled.

4. The same contrast, lessened by an advance of five to ten years and therefore dated (by Rodenwaldt) at the apogee of the Julio-Claudian, Hadrianic and Antonine revivals under Gallienus, appears in the seated reader of a sarcophagus in the Lateran; some have identified him as the neo-Platonist Plotinus (*ca.* A.D. 204/5–270) (fig. 39).<sup>74</sup> A comparison with the Boston head is afforded not

<sup>70</sup> Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 203, fig. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Rodenwaldt, *JdI*, 51 (1936), p. 88, pl. 3.

<sup>72</sup> On this subject, see J. B. Ward Perkins, "Four Roman Garland Sarcophagi in America," *Archaeology*, 11 (1958), pp. 98–104; *idem*, "The Hippolytus Sarcophagus from Trinquetaille," *JRS*, 46 (1956), p. 14 ff.; see also *supra*, note 1.

C. R. Morey's collection of Asiatic sarcophagi (*Sardis*, V, 1 [Princeton, 1924]) shows how often the "Graeco-Asiatic" heads discussed here occur in the figures of columnar sarcophagi in the Greek East; a sarcophagus in Florence (Palazzo Riccardi) and another in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek) illustrate these heads as the principal imitations of Asiatic sarcophagi in Italy, *ca.* A.D. 250–270 (Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 56 ff., fig. 101 f.; F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 564 f., no. 790).

<sup>73</sup> Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 113, pl. 5; *Cambridge Ancient History*, *Plates*, V, p. 198 f. The man appears as the seventh Sage; his wife, standing in front of him, is the ninth Muse.

<sup>74</sup> Rodenwaldt *op. cit.*, p. 104 f., fig. 10, pl. 6; see *supra*, note 10. On the identification as Plotinus: K. Scheffold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (Basel, 1943), p. 182 f. It is possible that the true portrait of Plotinus may be sought, as G. M. A. Hanfmann reminds me, in the likeness of

by the principal philosopher but by the features of the man at the extreme right.

5. Rodenwaldt has dated the sarcophagus of the *mercator frumentarius* Afrarius to the years around 275; the sarcophagus is now in the Museo delle Terme.<sup>75</sup> Afrarius' portrait is in the Roman tradition, but (as with the Conservatori Carinus) his likeness was carved by an artist conscious of the older styles revived under Gallienus. The grain merchant has full hair in strands, large incised eyebrows, and a plastically rendered, muttonchop beard.

Besides being evident in many secondary and a few major figures on the best sarcophagi of the years 230 to 280, the technical characteristics of the Boston head are present in other details of important as well as of artistically inferior sarcophagi of the period. Sarcophagi and fragments from the Praetextatus Catacomb in Rome dating from these years show the tight, channeled curls with *puntelli* heightening the effect of shadows used in the manes of lions on hunting sarcophagi and on sarcophagi where decorative lions' heads break up the principal scenes, as well as in the hair of the profiled masks or heads forming the corners of large sarcophagus lids.<sup>76</sup> In many cases the quality of these details is very high. Although we have seen that these peculiarities of decorative carving were used with infrequency if not reluctance in contemporary portrait heads carved in the Rome area, sarcophagi such as these remind us of the varied application of these characteristics. They also point to the ability of the sculptors.<sup>76a</sup>

The Antonine revival in the later years of Gallienus filtered down to sarcophagi of patently lesser merit. There are many of these, some with portraits, and the stylistic temper productive of the Boston head is evident on some, though not on others.<sup>77</sup> One of the former, dated by Gennaro Pesce in the period just after Gallienus, was probably made in Ostia and exported to Sardinia, where it was found. Two *Victoriae* hold the *imago clypeata* of a young man, and groups of Eros and Psyche appear on the left and right front.<sup>78</sup> The drilled technique is used throughout, for the hair of the deceased, in the heads of the *Victoriae* and in the mythological groups. A head of the Boston type occurs as that of the central hunter on the front of a small sarcophagus with

a thin, sad-faced, bearded, Asiatic Greek which turns up in Western Asia Minor and at Ostia; see the references cited *supra*, under note 44, and *infra*, under note 84.

<sup>75</sup> Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 12; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates, V, p. 202 f.; Budde, *JdI*, 54 (1939), p. 249 ff., fig. 4.

<sup>76</sup> M. Gütschow, *Das Museum der Prätetextat-Katakombe, MemPont*, IV (1934-38), pl. vi (lions' manes and corner masks); also, esp., p. 149 ff., fig. 30, a fragment of a "bathtub" sarcophagus with hunters and philosophers, in the Lateran and from the Praetextatus Catacomb (dated A.D. 250).

<sup>76a</sup> One looks in vain for state reliefs in the century from the Severan arches to the Arcus Novus of Diocletian. Two fragments from the Via Appia near the Porta S. Sebastiano, in the Museo Nuovo Capitolino and the old Antiquario on the Celian, probably come from a semiofficial tomb built *ca.* A.D. 220 to 230. The better-preserved relief shows two men in Greek and one in Roman garb looking at a scene involving musicians, beneath a curtain to suggest an interior. The hair and beards are drilled out in the manner of the Athenian third-century Cosmetes: L. Budde, *Die Entstehung des antiken Repräsentationsbildes* (Berlin, 1957), p. 18, fig. 75; *idem*, *Severisches Relief in Palazzo Sacchetti*, *JdI Achtzigstes Ergänzungsheft* (Berlin, 1955), p. 66 f., pls. 11-15.

<sup>77</sup> See generally, G. Bovini, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani. Determinazione della loro cronologia mediante l'analisi dei ritratti*, *Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana*, II Ser., V (Vatican City, 1949).

<sup>78</sup> G. Pesce, *Sarcofagi romani di Sardegna* (Rome, 1957), p. 72, fig. 61 f.

hunting scenes, in the Galleria Ia of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Again, the date is *ca.* A.D. 280.<sup>79</sup> Finally, to the period between 260 and 280 we may assign a sarcophagus in Boston, showing the deceased (with drilled hair and beard down to the neck) standing between two sets of the Four Seasons (fig. 38). The hair of the eight genii shows the drilled technique on a cruder level than that encountered in the central portrait.<sup>79a</sup>

#### NUMISMATIC PROBLEMS IN RELATION TO PORTRAITS OF THE PERIOD A.D. 260–285

Coins provide considerable help for the study of portraiture styles current in Rome and throughout the Empire.<sup>80</sup> Actually, we find greater stylistic variation in coin portraits of the emperors after Gallienus than could be deduced merely from the identification of imperial and other portraits in marble and bronze that are assigned to this period. In the period 235 to 260 coin portraits from the mint of Rome show the hair and beard usually executed in the incised-line technique which has been associated in these pages with Roman rather than Greek or Asiatic portraits (fig. 40). The coins of Gallienus from 260 to his death show frequent shifts to the Antonine styles of rich, curly hair and beard (fig. 41). The most startlingly Antonine group of portraits on coins are those of the Gallic Emperors, who are known only from their coins.

Portraits of Postumus (257–268) vary according to the quality of die design in Roman Gaul and near the frontiers, but his finest medallions and coins are closely modelled on the elaborately treated portraits of the Antonines and their African successor Septimius Severus (fig. 42).<sup>81</sup> The general character of design and the selection of reverse types in the coins of Postumus are based so closely on those of Septimius Severus as to suggest a consciously-directed Severan revival; we should remember that in the decades after the sack of Athens and Antioch the Antonine and Severan periods must have been thought of as the most recent “Golden Ages” of the Roman Empire. Trajan and Augustus were still names to remember, but it was the relatively stable and prosperous Antonine and Severan periods that were immediately followed by the half-century of chaos.<sup>82</sup> The artist of the Boston head may have been just as

<sup>79</sup> Stuart Jones, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pl. 26; cf. also *Conservatori*, Scala, II, 11, pl. 11.

<sup>79a</sup> Acc. no. 92.2583; G. H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Antiquities. A Guide to the Classical Collection* (Boston, 1950), p. 153, fig. 201.

A sarcophagus front with hunting scene, dated by Cagianò at the end of the third century A.D., manifests the Graeco-Asiatic style in striking fashion in the hair and beards of the principal hunter and his four subordinates; the sarcophagus should be dated about A.D. 260; M. Cagianò de Azevedo, *Le antichità di Villa Medici* (Rome, 1951), p. 96, no. 191, pl. 41.

<sup>80</sup> For this period, see generally: R. Delbrueck, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus, Das römische Herrscherbild*, III, 2 (Berlin, 1940); M. Leeb, *A Numismatic Approach to Stylistic Problems in Roman Portraiture of the Period 268 to 284 A.D.* (M. A. Dissertation, New York University, 1950); *Marsyas*, 7 (1953), p. 82.

<sup>81</sup> Felletti Maj's enlarged photograph of the famous aureus of Postumus with facing bust, in the British Museum, shows the dependence on Antonine and Severan prototypes in a dramatic fashion (*op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII, fig. 160; cf. also fig. 161 ff.).

<sup>82</sup> A point developed at length in the writer's "Copying in Roman Imperial Die Design," *NumCirc*, LX, no. 7 (1952), p. 356f.

dependent on recollections of Antonine and Severan prosperity in choosing or developing his portrait type as were the die designers of Postumus.

Among the Gallic successors of Postumus, Victorinus (*ca.* A.D. 265–267) often has a numismatic portrait that recalls in retrospect the Antonine bust from Spain now in Boston, which we have cited as a second-century forerunner of the new Boston head. The style of the coin portraits, as well as of the reverses used by Victorinus is one of near-mannerism, with the same long face and delicate curls as are seen in the Antonine head from Spain. In general, the figures and lettering on the coins of Victorinus achieve an attenuated grace rare in these troubled years.<sup>83</sup> After the Gallic Empire in the West, the portraits in the principal Roman series shed many of the revivalist qualities achieved under Gallienus; as in bronze and marble portraits, the features of emperors on their coins are rendered with a reliance on the old tradition of linear incision (fig. 43). On coins, however, portraits in the style of the Boston head are far from exceptional, an important point considering that in monumental sculpture we often date objects merely by their association with coins.

In the coin portraits of Quintillus, brother of Claudius II Gothicus (270), the woolly hair and plastically rendered beard offer a contrast to most portraits of Claudius or of his successor Aurelianus (270–275), under whom the numismatic transition to Constantinian and later styles can be said to begin in earnest (fig. 44).<sup>84</sup> In portraits of the thoroughly Roman Emperors Tacitus and Florianus (275–276), the fashion of incised hair and beard on the cheeks is often combined with plastically rendered curls, especially noticeable under the jaws and on the neck. As for Carinus, we find several types of portrait on his coins: incised hair, delicately treated yet thick, curly beard; or, more richly treated hair, and luxuriant, baroque curls under the jaws (fig. 45).

Concerning the numismatic portraits of Numerianus, it is sufficient to note that the contrasts in style suggest softness and humanism, instead of being in the military tradition. Some heads of Numerianus on his coins are as baroque, to use the terminology of the modern historian of art, as those of the Emperor Quintillus. The identification of Numerianus as the subject of the new head in Boston depends on the small series of medallions and coins that date from the end of the young Emperor's career and show him in the full beard we would expect in an essentially literary presentation in marble. The Boston head seems to take up this literary presentation and give it all the depth, accentuation, and breadth that was possible in a major work in this unusual style, a style that grew out of a long tradition ultimately derived from the Greek and Western Asiatic portraits of the fourth century B.C.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Felletti Maj, *loc. cit.*, fig. 164; pls. XLIX–LX illustrate most of the remaining numismatic developments touched on here. The two portraits of Numerianus (figs. 207, 208) show some beard and woolly hair but not the fuller beard of the Boston head.

<sup>84</sup> See C. Vermeule, "Eastern Influences in Roman Numismatic Art A.D. 200–400," *Berytus*, XII (1956–57), p. 94, note 1.

<sup>85</sup> The bearded man in Boston from the Agora at Assos, a portrait of about A.D. 230, gives visual form to the precise workmanship of Greek fourth-century classicism in its transition through Late Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire (inv. no. 84.65; *Bulletin*, LVI [1958], p. 74f., fig. 5).



## CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages a number of points have been taken up and restated in different forms. Since no one save the compiler of abstracts expects all arguments to be condensed in a list of conclusions, a recapitulation can include only those ideas that are essential for the understanding of the portrait with which this paper has been concerned:

1. The head in Boston was carved in the generation from A.D. 265 to 285. It was found in the area of Rome.

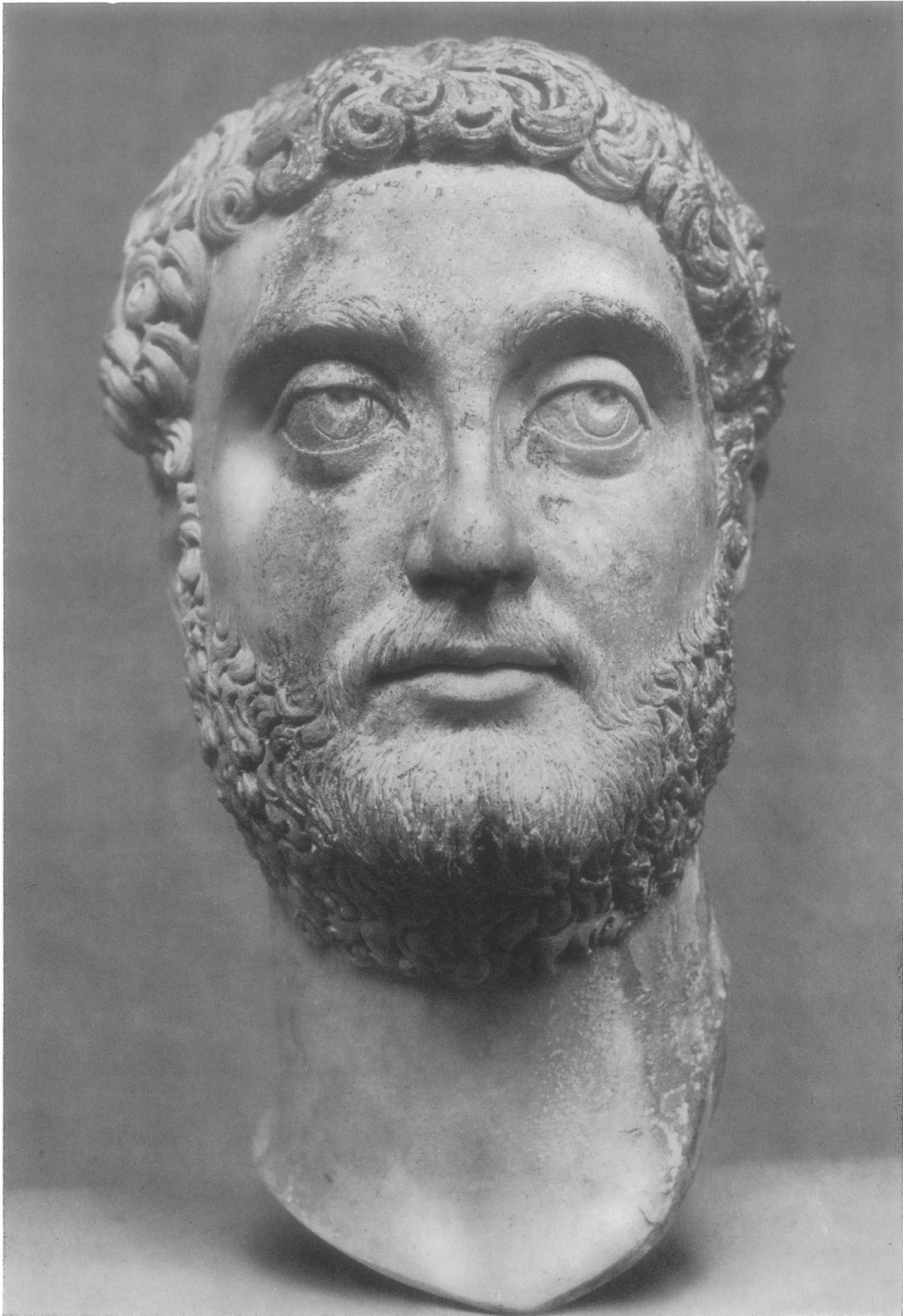
2. The style of carving is traditional to Western Asia Minor in the second and third centuries A.D. and can be traced throughout these centuries in portraits in the area of Rome. It is a style especially associated with the Hellenic portraits, the secondary figures, and the decorative carving of the best sarcophagi of the period.

3. The style of the head revives that of the portraits of the period of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and this revival may have been influenced by the identity of the sitter.

4. The Boston portrait may represent Marcus Aurelius Numerianus, an Emperor of good reputation and a man of literary accomplishments, who died at the age of thirty-two in Thrace, under very suspicious circumstances, in A.D. 284. Coin portraits providing the closest parallels belong to the last months of the Emperor's life.

5. Coins of the twenty years in question, especially the Gallic ones, show how frequently a ruler was represented in the Hellenic and Antonine baroque traditions that are combined in the Boston head, although in all branches of art a more severe, simpler style had been in vogue for portraits from the last years of Alexander Severus onwards. Coins also show how often the two styles alternated in portraits of the same Emperor or Caesar.

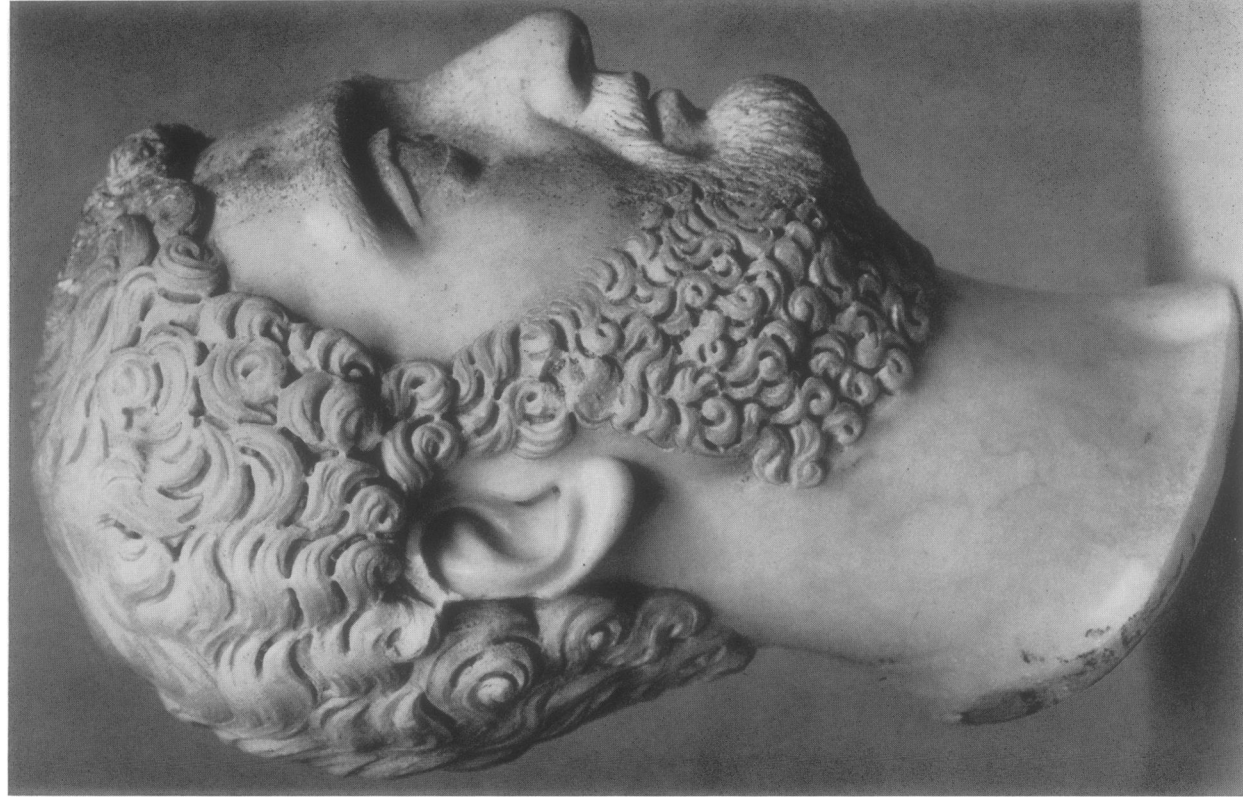
These ideas are by no means original or revolutionary, but they bear restatement when new evidence appears in their support. The head recently added to the collections in Boston is, in the last analysis, of more-than-average importance as a work of art; there are few portraits of the same quality surviving from this period—twenty crucial years in the struggle of the Roman Empire to outlive a half-century of internal strife and disasters on its frontiers. The new head also reminds us that much can be done in studies of ancient iconography to identify portraits and groups of portraits that stand somewhat apart from the main artistic trends of a given age. These portraits are often disregarded or wrongly dated in periods to which they seem to have a stylistic affinity. There are more parallels to the new head in the decades when it was made than one realizes at first.



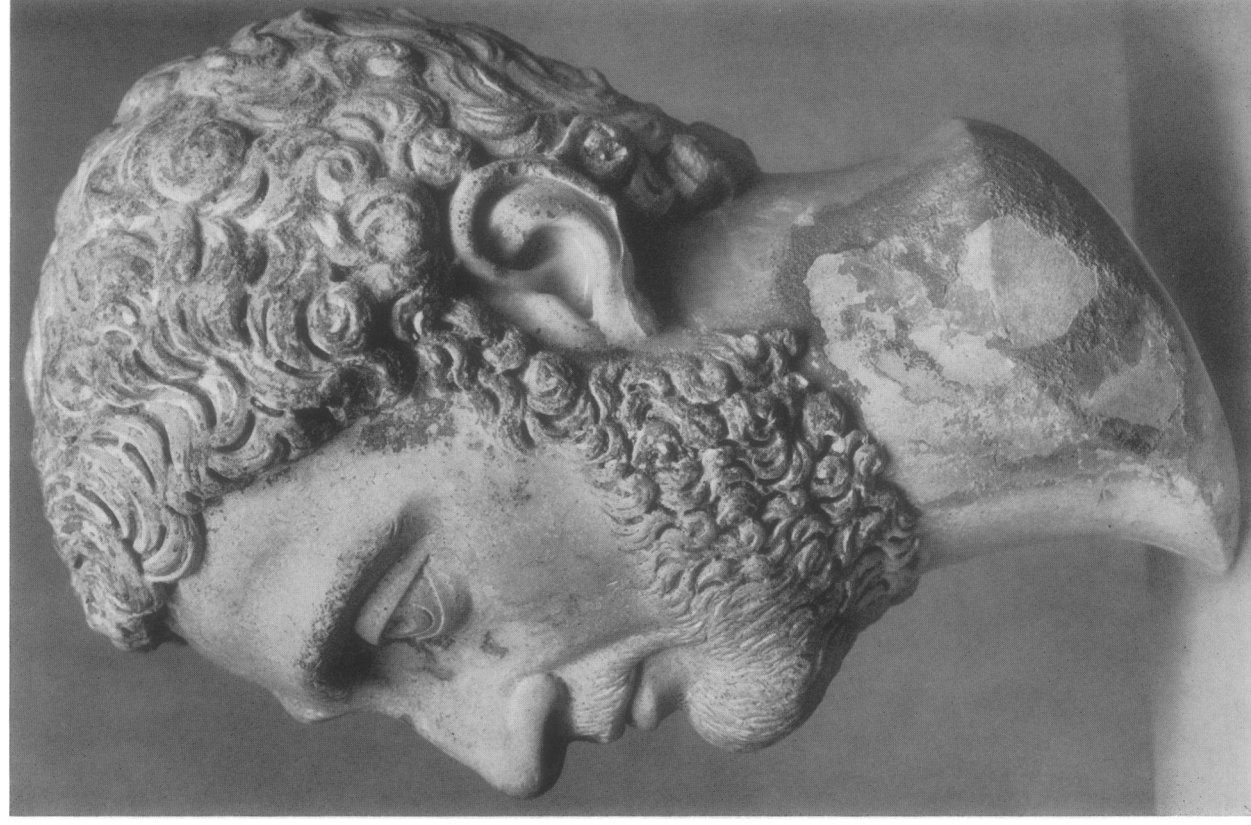
1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Head of a Man (*ca.* A.D. 265–285)



2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Head of a Man (*ca.* A.D. 265–285). Three-quarter View to right



3. Right Profile



4. Left Profile

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Head of a Man (*ca.* A.D. 265–285)





5. Infra-red Photograph to show Surface and Workmanship  
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Head of a Man (*ca.* A.D. 265–285)



6. Infra-red Photograph. Detail of Head



7. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Bust of the Emperor Balbinus (A.D. 238)



8. Detroit, Institute of Arts. A Roman of *ca.* A.D. 245



9. Florence, Museo Archeologico.  
Bronze Head of Trebonianus Gallus (A.D. 251-253)



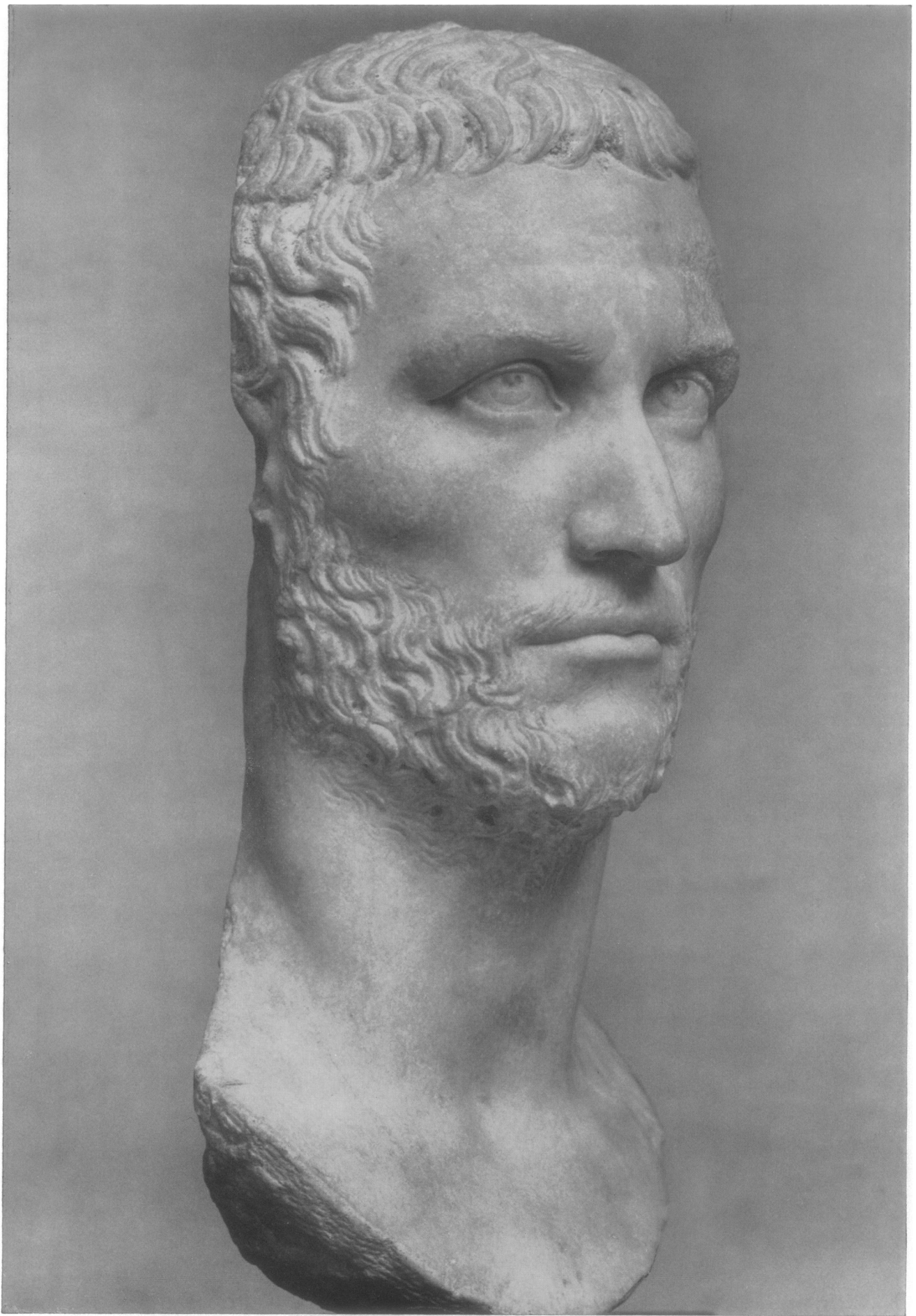


10. Rome, Museo Capitolino. A Roman, perhaps the Emperor Hostilianus (A.D. 251)





11. Rome, Museo Capitolino. The Emperor Gallienus (A.D. 253–268)



12. Northampton, Mass., Smith College Art Museum. Gallienus

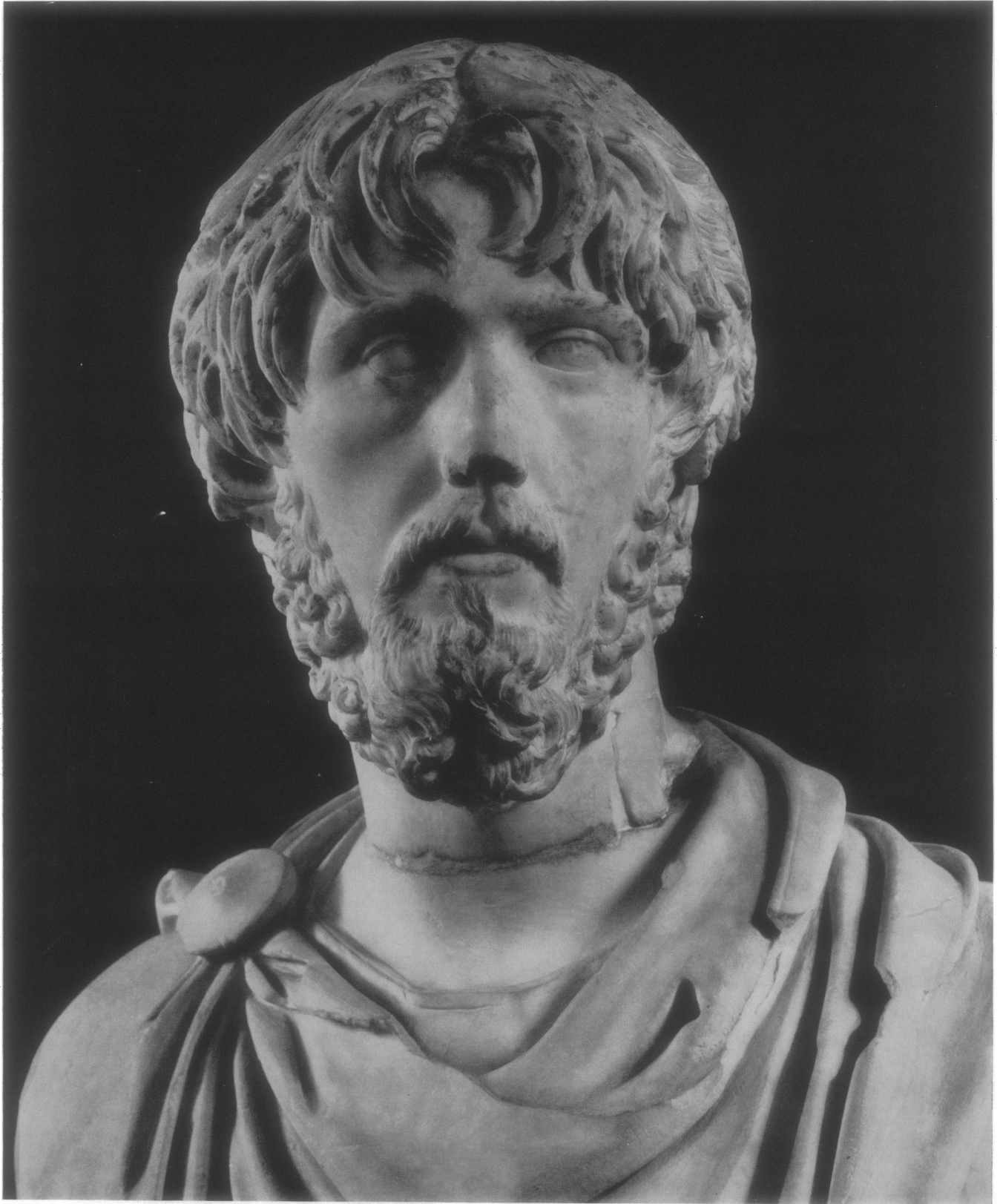


13. Rome, Museo Torlonia. Gallienus



14. Brunswick, Maine, The Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts. The Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 188-161)





15. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Bust, from Spain. A Roman



16. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Bust of a Roman, perhaps Marcus Aurelius as Caesar  
(*ca.* A.D. 155)



17. Canterbury, Royal Museum and Slater Art Gallery.  
Head of the Emperor Commodus, as Bacchus (A.D. 180-192)



18. Princeton University, The Art Museum.  
The Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180)





19. Right Profile

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Portrait identified as C. Mummius Caecilianus Placidus  
(*ca.* A.D. 220)



20. Three-quarter View

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Portrait identified as C. Mummius Caecilianus Placidus



21. Rome, Museo Nuovo Capitolino. Bust of an Officer (*ca.* A.D. 225–235)

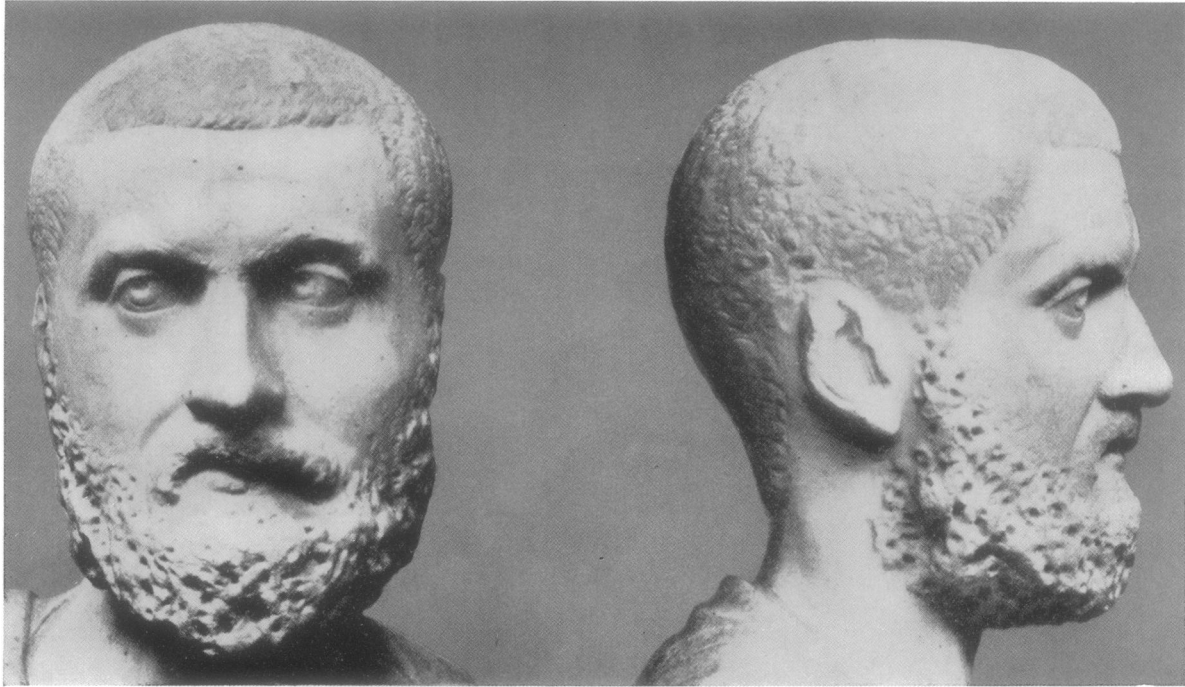




22. Rome, Palazzo Mattei. Sarcophagus with Hunting Scene (ca. A.D. 230)



23. Rome, Museo Capitolino. Portrait (so-called "Carinus," *ca.* A.D. 250)



24. Madrid, Museo del Prado. Portrait, from Italy (*ca.* A.D. 250)

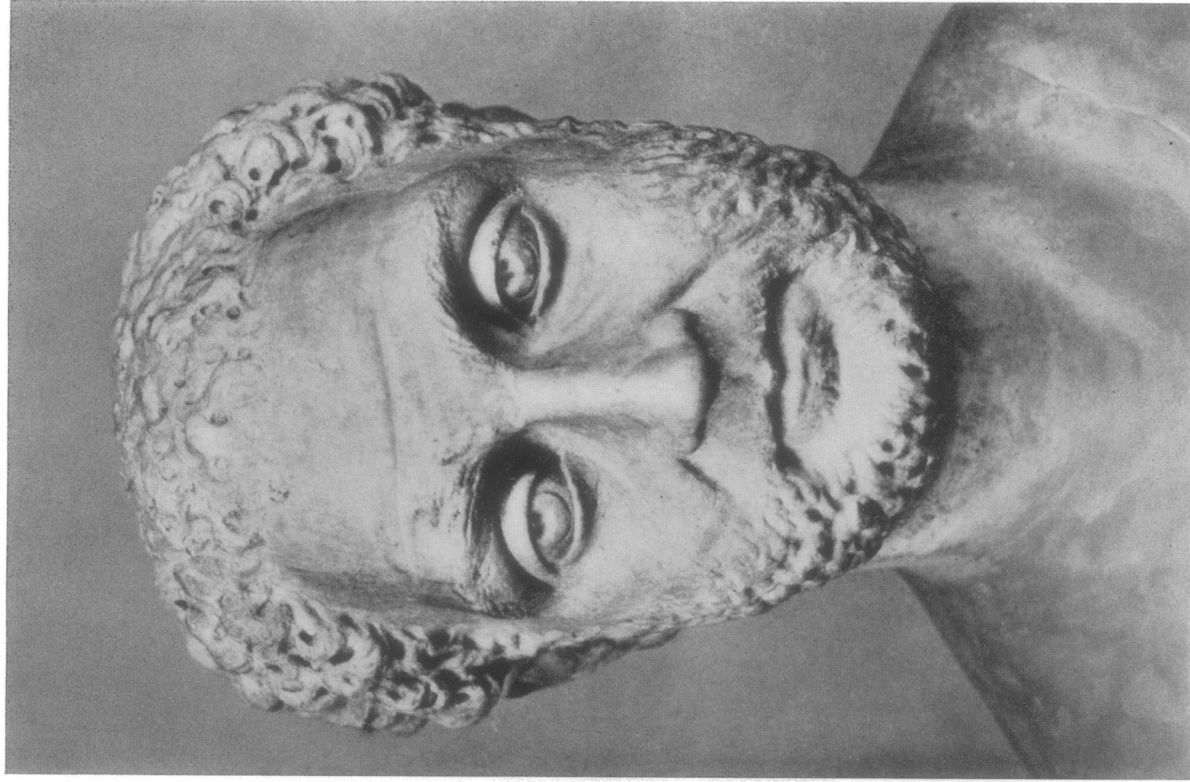


25. Athens, National Museum. Portrait of a Cosmetes (A.D. 220–230)

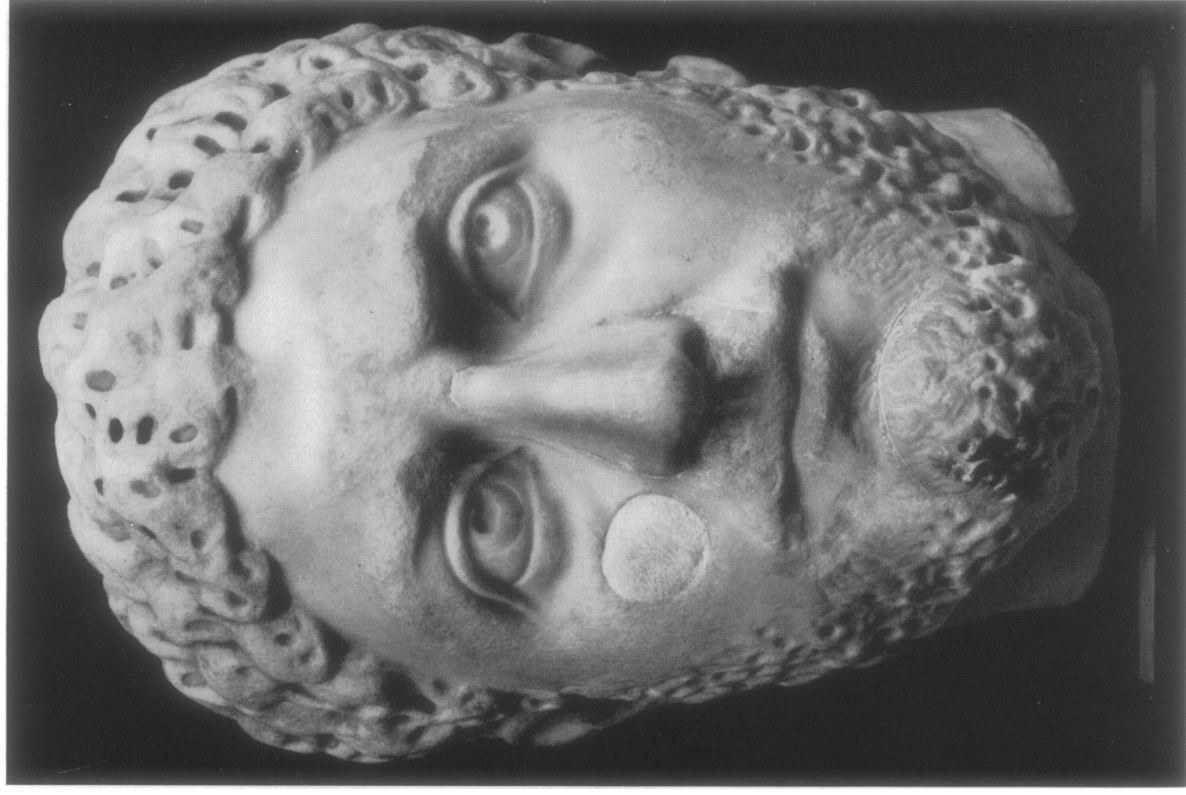




26. Berlin, from Miletropolis in Mysia. Head, in Profile and Full Face



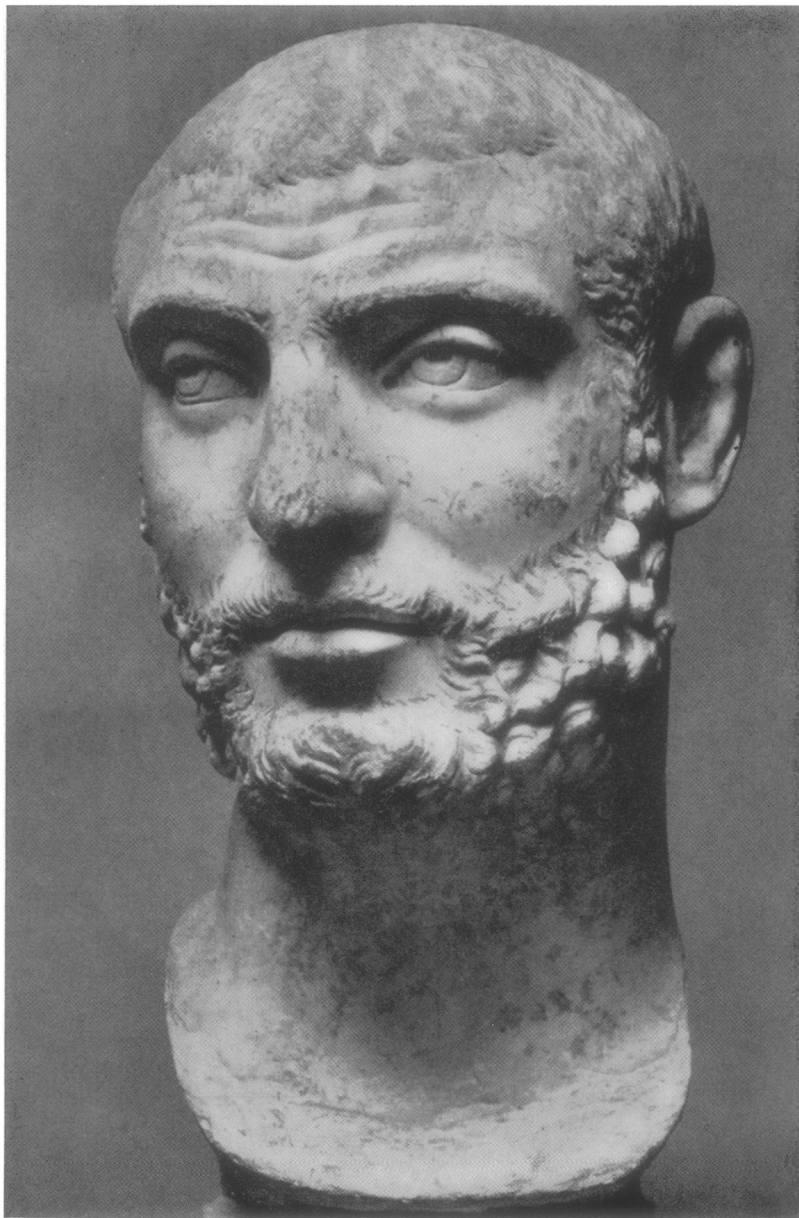
27. Rome, Museo Profano Lateranense. Portrait (*ca.* A.D. 260-270)



28. London (Art Market). Head, from Stowe and Lowther Castle.  
(*ca.* A.D. 270-280)



29. Rome, Musei Vaticani. Bronze Medallion.  
Numerianus as Augustus and Consul (A.D. 283)



30. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori.  
Colossal Head of the Emperor Carinus (A.D. 282-285)





31. Rome, Museo Vaticano. Bust of a Young *Imperator* (ca. A.D. 310)



32. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori. Head of a Young Man, perhaps Crispus Caesar (*ca.* A.D. 315). Full-face and Profile Views





33. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
Colossal Head of Constantine the Great (*ca.* A.D. 325)



34. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Sarcophagus from Acilia (*ca.* A.D. 270–280)



35. Detail, Head of the Young Prince

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.



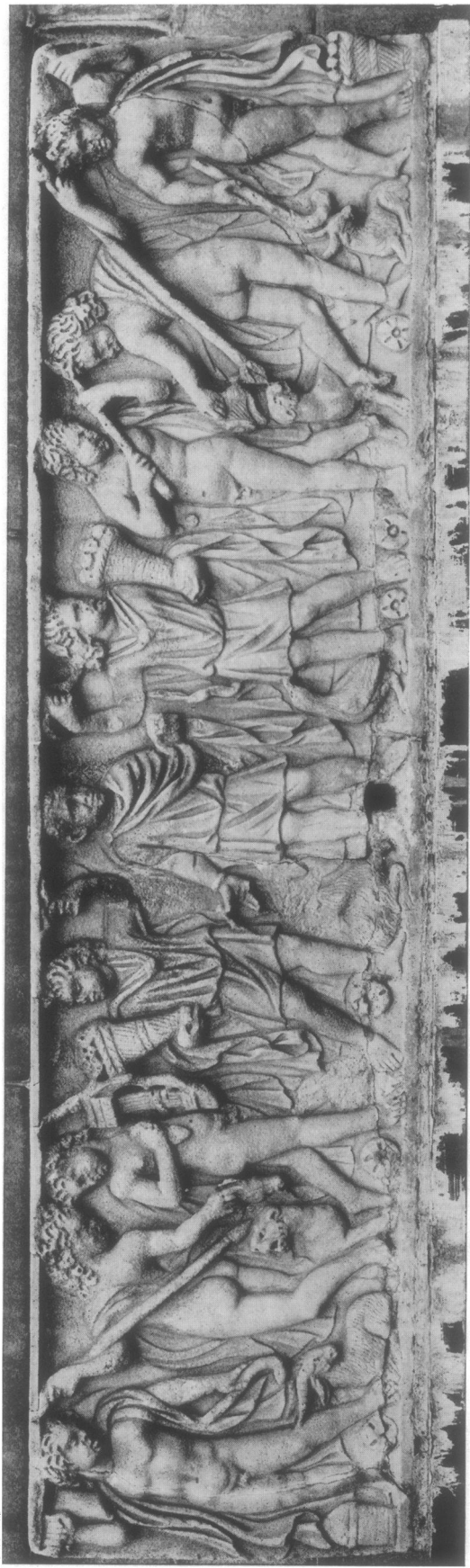
36. Left End of Sarcophagus

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Sarcophagus from Acilia (ca. A.D. 270-280)





37. Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi. Sarcophagus with Hunting Scenes (*ca.* A.D. 235–240)



38. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Sarcophagus, Deceased amid Eight Seasons (*ca.* A.D. 260-280)



39. Rome, Museo Profano Lateranense.  
So-called Sarcophagus of Plotinus (*ca.* A.D. 270)



40. Silver Medallion.  
Philipus I (A.D. 244–249)



41. Silver Medallion.  
Gallienus and Salonina (A.D. 260–268)



42. Bronze Sestertius.  
The Emperor Postumus (A.D. 257–268)



43. Bronze Medallion.  
The Emperor Probus (A.D. 276–282)



44. Gold Aureus.  
Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–337)



45. Gold Aureus.  
The Emperor Carinus (A.D. 282–285)